364 sections and especially around the market. Now formal regulations require the inhabitants [232] to dig latrine ditches in the compounds, but it will be a long time before the native loses the habit of relieving himself in the open air.

Chapter 15

Mossi Dances and their Significance (1)

1. An excerpt, revised and completed, from a lecture delivered by the author on December 24, 1926.

535 In this chapter, we shall describe the Mossi dances, explain their meaning, and tell of the old beliefs with which they are connected.

Indeed, these dances occupy a place apart in the general category of dances of indigenous peoples.

The latter, for the most part and notably among the Boussancé and the Gourma [Gurma], are only exuberant displays, sometimes exercises in suppleness, sometimes caricatures of the motions of love.

The Mossi dances, on the other hand, are actually performed in accordance with fixed rules. There are three types: 1) dances which we shall call sentimental, known as wennega; 2) dances that are part war dance and part religious, called waongo; and finally 3) funeral dances known as warba.

535 533 832 In order of precedence, let us begin with the love dance called wennega. This is executed at gatherings. The lover and his sweetheart -- the latter dressed in black, the ceremonial color -- are receiving their friends. Beer is flowing, and mouths are filled with kola nuts. Soon the musicians strike up [234] their [534] rustic guitars (kondé) which are accompanied by the beating of gourds. The women sing:

539 533 M' Ba sida talem néré
Talem kan-kaĩn, talemti
Pagh ka zaĩd koulogh wa mandé

773 According to tradition, he had beside him a toabga (a kind of
535 magic axe) and a tibo (a sacred object, fetish).
776 The people captured him and put him in a safe place. But of what possible use could he be to them? Nobody knew. [237] He was something unknown and fearful.

One day the people had gone off to hold the kouré (funeral observances) of an old man and were on their way back home. They were warba dancers. They were all singing as they approached the house of the waongo, who came out. The dancers were terrified and ran away. Only one of the singers had the courage to remain behind.

He went on with the songs and the waongo followed him right up to the house of the deceased, and there he began to dance.

From this it was concluded that the waongo had something to do with funerals. Since that time the waongo is summoned whenever an old man or woman of the Nioniossé (soukoaba) dies. He never dances for deceased young people.

Since the waongo or, rather, the soukou is considered to be sacred and to embody a sort of religion which possesses secrets
[198] that should not be made known to everyone, a special language -- a deformation of the môré [Mossi] language -- has been invented. It is understood only by the initiates.

535 The waongo dances to the sound of a special tom-tom, accompanied by songs and praises in the secret language. The dance is of no special interest; it involves more or less frenetic movements, such as characterize most of the dances of the indigenous peoples.

The waongo is always accompanied by a circle of young men dressed in a narrow strip of cotton, decorated with cowries, and carrying satchels at their sides. These boys make movements with their heads which [238] are precisely like those made by circus
[534] horses. In addition to the tom-tom, flute players (wissé) accompany the dances.

535 We shall now speak of the true funeral dance, called warba.
764 It is performed by men wearing skirts, a kind of net shirt dyed blue, and headdresses made of cowrie shells. A long fringe, weighted

535 with metal and worn around the hips, distinguishes this costume
764 from others. The movements of the fringe follow the movements of the body. It soon is revolving so rapidly that it looks like a top.

Many people, however, do not own the special costume just described, and they merely tie a blanket around their loins. During the movements of the dance, this produces a very comical effect since it looks like the wagging tail of a monkey.

[534] The musical instruments which accompany this dance are long tom-toms (gangando); some of them are narrower at the middle and look like long, thin spools for thread.

The dancers also accompany themselves with tiny metal instruments which are like Spanish castanets.

The dance itself is performed in a circle under the direction of the chief of the warba whose costume is [239] richer than the others. All of the dancers usually wear many charms on their
[789] heads (tail of an ox and heads of birds stained with the blood of sacrificed chickens).

[775] The warba proves that the Mossi believe in the immortality of the soul. They believe that the dance is necessary to enable the soul of the departed to join the souls of his ancestors. They hope in this way to earn the good favor of the new spirit.

Thus, this dance has a moral basis. However, it seems that the same cannot be said for the other dances which are performed so widely today.

535 In addition to these three national Mossi dances, there are some other dances performed only by women and girls which are actually exercises in physical culture rather than true dances. We shall speak only of the principal one, the kiguibtobo ("dance of the bumping buttocks").

The kiguibtobo. This dance is performed by a group of women, usually at the beginning of cool weather after the harvests are in. The dancers clap their hands while singers raise their melodious voices. The dance is rhythmic. Two dancers leave the group and take their places in the center of the circle. They go back and forth, and then suddenly at a given point in the song [240] they turn back to back so that their buttocks touch and bump each other in time to the music. The dancers must be equally strong

304 wound with warm water which often is not scrupulously clean
752 since the gourd in which it is kept is not always washed. The
[278] wound is dusted with a charred substance (made by burning the bark or leaves of the baguem-baga plant) mixed with karite butter. It is bandaged with a leaf from the kantonga bush, tied on with a bit of thread. Once the wound has begun to heal, it is wrapped in cotton strips. The water used to wash the wound is thrown into a hole that is covered with a stone.

304 Special language of the kéogo. In order to prevent the Moaga
198 (here meaning an uncircumcised person) from understanding what is said within the kéogo or between the boys and the guards, a special language has been developed. Some of its words are as follows:

Water (kom in ordinary Mossi language), hargo;
Millet cake (saghbo in Mossi), lâbo;
Sauce (zindo in Mossi), kirou;
Fire (bougoum in Mossi), nionom;
Beer (dam in Mossi), sonnom;
A robe or blanket (fougou in Mossi), pilli;
Mat (pinri in Mossi), wanghé. [268]

304 Distinctive attire of the circumcised boys (bankoanga). His
292 costume, wallimba or zougba, consists of a fringed loincloth with pockets. He carries a rough stick (zâbré) with which he hunts rabbits and other small game.

He accompanies his evening dance with an instrument called
304 wassimba, a curved stick on the end of which are strung four or
293 five pieces of gourd, roughly circular in shape, with holes bored through them.

304 Tom-toms. The bankoensé (newly circumcised boys) dance
534 to the beat of two drums like those used in the warba and waongo
535 (see the chapter on native dances). The drums are called gangango when they accompany other dances, but here they are called gallyans.

304 Prohibitions in the kéogo. A Moaga (1) is strictly forbidden

1. "Moaga" is used here in a pejorative sense and means an uncircumcised man.

1: Delobsom--147 I-5 (no date) 1933 FA28 Mossi FA28

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Drummer (bendré).

From the Mission of the
White Fathers at
Ouagadougou.

644 The arms of the sorone are ornamented with two, three, or four copper
[301] bracelets, often of alternate yellow and red metal. Sometimes they wear them at the wrists and above the elbow, and occasionally both ankles are adorned with thick bracelets or even with copper gaiters which make walking quite difficult but which are prized very highly.
[201] All these pages wait on the monarch hand and foot. If he coughs, they all rub the palms of their hands together and snap their fingers. This is repeated /18/ even when he drinks, sneezes, or spits. If he rises, the whole court rises, and when he feels those needs common to all mortals, the whole court follows and squats as he does.

644 On important feast days, the naba is followed by music, and every
533 time he makes a gesture, says a word, or takes a step, the musicians
534 play on various kinds of drums. The typical drum peculiar to Mossi country, bindre, which only the members of the drummers' guild are allowed to play, is made of a gourd which may reach 70 or 80 centimeters in diameter. The calabash is emptied, and the side where the stem was attached is removed and replaced with a tightly stretched
533 goat skin. By hitting this skin with his hands, the artist draws many different sounds from his instrument. It is quite an art to play this drum well, and the members of the guild are trained to it from childhood. They are the troubadours, the griot of the country; they sing the praises of chiefs whose genealogies they know by heart, they frequent the markets, they follow the rich and proclaim them to be the bravest, the most generous, the most handsome men this world has ever known, for the sake of a few gifts. They attend all festivities.

534 Another instrument is the lounga, made of a hollowed piece of wood shaped like an hourglass; the two ends are rather broad and joined by a narrow cylinder. This drum is carried under the arm, and its two openings are closed with goat skins joined by cords. The artist stretches these cords more or less tightly by clasping the drum between his arm and the left side of his body, while he hits one of the skins with a small curved stick ending in a little ball and held in his right hand.

The naba's orchestra also includes flutes, from which the natives, especially the Peul, draw pretty but monotonous sounds, and small one-string violins which give forth pleasing tones under a skillful bow.

644 If the Moro Naba is to ride on horseback, the grooms bring his
492 mount magnificently decked out in a copper headstall and a large embroidered rug which covers its back and rump completely. A piece of embroidered cloth hides the horse's chest, and the Arab-type saddle,

586 It nevertheless happens, though very rarely, that the husband is unable to convince his wife and returns home alone. No one troubles the wife from then on, and her relatives give her full freedom. The grudge of the rejected husband may be persistent, however, and his vengeance frightful. The bride price is not returned; the husband should have known how to keep his wife. It is nevertheless acknowledged that the children born of the union, boys or girls, belong to the father, and he does not fail to claim them when they are grown, or if they run away to their mother.

564 467 Negro populations often contain caste groups, set apart from each other by tight barriers. The most outstanding of these are the rules prohibiting marriage between members of the same caste or between those who belong to a caste and those who do not. Such prohibitions do not exist among the Mossi, except in the sense mentioned earlier. Although three caste-like groups exist among them, drummers, smiths, and undertakers, they are castes only in the sense that those who do not belong to such a family cannot exercise the profession. It might be more accurate to call them guilds.

533 [534] The drummers (binda) are those who play the bindré, a sort of large gourd with an aperture about 40 centimeters in diameter and covered with hide. Only those who belong to the drummers' family may play on this drum, which apparently is peculiar to the Mossi, but anyone may play on the other drums. The drummers are present [782] at all sacrifices offered by the naba; on Friday, the day of sacrifice, they go and pay their respects to him. When sacrifices are offered, they are entitled to the head of the victim. They are present at all [764] burials, where they play their drum and receive a remuneration which varies with the wealth of the deceased. If it is one of their members who died, they receive neither cowries nor food. They go to war [727] with their drums. If they are so unfortunate as to be made prisoners, they are never sold but ruthlessly killed; this is done either to prevent them from going back into the fray and stirring the warriors to sack the village, or because no one would want to buy them since they belong to a naba who would retaliate against their captors, or for both reasons at once. The drummers are the country's griot, a term hallowed by custom. They know the genealogy of every naba and sing his praises. Each province chief has a number of drummers and never travels without taking some of them with him. At other times they go to /34/ the market and follow the best-dressed people, singing

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The Large Mossi Drums.

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Dance of Young Mossi Girls.

857 The young Mossi, like children in our own country, like to play.
524 Babies have bone hatchets on which they chew; little girls have wooden dolls, and on important feast days they hand them out graciously with a curtsy; whoever takes the doll must give the child a few cowries when he returns it. The boys mold horses, saddles, and horsemen in clay and draw figures in the dust with their fingers, just as we at the same age used to make mud pies and draw funny figures in the margins of our spelling books. Of course, all this is done rather crudely, but it shows that human beings are the same and have similar tastes all over the earth.

857 All children like noise, and the Mossi are no exception. When
534 the stalks of millet are still green, they fashion a kind of harmonica with a vibrating tongue made of a piece of millet stem tied with a thread; or they cut a millet stalk in two and hollow it out, leaving a mere slat which vibrates under the repeated blows of a stick. The sound is augmented by a broken gourd that serves as resonator. These are expendable toys which are thrown away the following day when they have dried out, but it is so easy to make more! The children
857 also make straw rings which are usually worn around the wrist as
524 bracelets, but which may also be used in a game. They are placed on the ground before the players who take turns rolling one of the little hoops. If the ring falls on that of another child, the player who propelled it wins the hoop; if it falls at a certain distance, it is won by the opponent; and if it rolls past that distance, the throw must be repeated.

524 The older boys and the men have more complicated games. They have a kind of checkers; the board is formed by making small holes [in the ground] by hand, and the pawns are represented by
525 stones. Above all, they have the cowry game, a game of chance, a game of winnings and losses, and like every gamble involving money, a thrilling game. Those who take to it go as far as their European counterparts. They become cheaters, liars, thieves, and indebted. Some have gambled away everything up to their last pair of trousers, their last breechcloth, and have ended up gambling themselves away. This game should be forbidden as strictly as our own games of chance.

535 The game of games, the pastime of pastimes, that which is resorted to on every occasion, happy or sad, and sometimes without any special reason, is the dance. If the Mossi happened to know her, the muse Terpsichore would have no more devoted followers. No man, woman, or child can remain still when dance music fills the air.

776 753 makes noise in the bush under certain leafy trees, his cheeks will swell out. The tisé talk, even during the day. It is their voices which are heard when the wind stirs the leaves. We had /81/ papaw seeds planted all around our dwelling. They had sprouted and grown well; the fruit was already ripening. One morning, no papaw trees were left in [824] Koupéla! The naba had decreed that these were talking trees, that they would cause illness to those who had them in their soukala ... and the papaws had been cut down!

776 782 Fortunately, it is possible to protect oneself against the tisé. First, those trees which shelter them may be felled, and the spirits will move elsewhere. Some very beautiful trees vanish thus from the villages. The tisé may also be appeased with sacrifices. Does this result in tree cult, dendrolatry? Indeed not! The Mossi clearly make the distinction between the tree and the spirit that inhabits it, and they sacrifice to the spirit. Sometimes also, a tree was planted on the [169] grave of the elder who founded the village, and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirit at the foot of the tree. Finally, there are fetishes more powerful than the tisé. It is enough to know which roots and barks the tisé do not like, to steep them in water, and to place the pot at the door of the hut. When a tiga sees this fetish, he invariably runs away. Some Peul are said to have the power to distinguish between those trees where spirits dwell and those where they do not, and to kill the former trees merely by rubbing them with butter! This must be done in a special way.

776 754 The kikirsi are imps, red or black all over, and only a few centimeters high. Their body has the same shape as ours, but it is much nimbler and more tenuous—something ethereal and impalpable that only the sorcerers can discern. The latter call them with a low whistle or by shaking a peculiarly shaped gourd that looks like a handle [534] ending in a sphere. This gourd is dried without being opened, and the seeds gather in the sphere. The sorcerer makes noise by shaking this instrument, and the kikirsi flock to him singing.

776 There are good and evil kikirsi, and the good ones only do evil when forced to do so; for instance, when someone puts pepper in their sauce. They abhor pepper but they love honey, and every good housewife who wishes to preserve her honey covers it carefully with pepper to prevent the kikirsi from eating it. They are inordinately fond of sesame, and they dote on millet cakes (samsa); every woman who makes millet cakes offers them a few. People who eat samsa while walking are careful to drop a few crumbs to the ground. On the

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
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The musicians of the royal court, the Benkos.

[p. 178-C]